UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3182
12 March 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 12 March 1993, at 5.40 p.m.

President:	Mr. O'BRIEN	(New Zealand)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ-BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Ms. TRUJILLO

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The meeting was called to order at 5.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/25399, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/25271, letter dated 9 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25236, letter dated 3 February 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Argentina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; document S/25304, letter dated 17 February 1993 from the

(The President)

Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/25389 and S/25390, letters dated 9 March 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Since this is the first time, Sir, that my delegation has spoken under your presidency in a formal session of the Security Council, let me start by extending to you our congratulations on your assumption of this high office. The work of the Council, since the first days of the month, bears clear testimony to your intelligence and diplomatic skills. Let me also express the gratitude of my delegation to Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi of Morocco for the most competent and professional manner in which he conducted the business of the Council in February.

Yesterday, members of the Council had the opportunity to hear from Mrs. Margaret Anstee, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola, a poignant report on the dire situation prevailing in that country, including the hardship faced by the provisionally limited United Nations personnel in the field, to which Brazil is proud to contribute. I wish to take this opportunity to wholeheartedly commend the admirable efforts of Mrs. Anstee, as well as the personal courage and untiring dedication she has shown under extremely trying conditions.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

It is with a sense of deep distress that the Brazilian Government and people have ben following the appalling deterioration of the situation in Angola. Some five months ago, the high hopes of the international community for a successful completion of the transition to democracy in that sister country were shattered by the refusal of UNITA to accept the results of the democratic elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992. The subsequent resumption of the fighting by UNITA brought back horrors and fears that the Angolan people had hoped were left behind for good.

Such a chain of events was all the more deplorable because, by that time, warranted by an impressive level of commitment on the part of the United Nations, there seemed to be bright prospects for the future of Angola, in the wake of an electoral process marked by a clear display of enthusiasm and civic spirit by the Angolan people.

Unfortunately, where there was once hope we find today a bleak picture. To the rejection of the electoral results, UNITA added a long list of misdeeds, including the failure to take part in the new political institutions established in Angola, the unwillingness to engage in serious negotiations with the Government, the withdrawal from the unified Armed Forces, the seizure by force of municipalities and the resumption of hostilities, bringing the country virtually back to a state of civil war.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

On top of that list, UNITA failed to send a delegation to the meeting which had been scheduled to be held last month in Addis Ababa, under the auspices of the United Nations, in spite of the assurances provided by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the observer States to the peace process. The Security Council will not fail strongly to condemn those acts, in accordance with the draft resolution before us.

Although absent from the spotlight of the international media, the suffering of the Angolan people - described by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as the "forgotten tragedy" - has reached an unbearable dimension. Their cry for help cannot go on unheeded. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, a humanitarian tragedy of grave dimensions is developing in Angola. The international community is duty bound to provide the humanitarian relief so desperately needed, and to render the legitimate Government of Angola appropriate assistance for the enormous task of national reconstruction and development.

Against such a tragic backdrop, the role of the United Nations in Angola is possibly more crucial than ever before. Brazil looks forward to an in-depth discussion on the future of such a role as soon as possible, in time for the Council to devise the appropriate line of action before 30 April, with a view to the strengthening and much needed readjustment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II).

The completion of the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" is, and should remain, the paramount objective in addressing the situation in Angola. Those agreements, if fully respected, provide the indispensable foundation upon which it will be possible to attain the long overdue pacification of the country and the unimpeded functioning of its democratic institutions.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

To this end, it is essential, as stressed in the draft resolution, that UNITA accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of last September and engage in meaningful negotiations with the Government of Angola.

For its part, the Security Council ought to remain ready promptly to reassess the situation as required, in order to consider what further measures will be needed in order to ensure the restoration of the peace process and secure the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

Linked to Angola by strong bonds of a historical and cultural nature, Brazil has been actively engaged in the efforts aimed at reaching a peaceful, democratic and sustainable solution to the internal conflict in that country, a conflict which has already inflicted too heavy a toll on our Angolan sisters and brothers on the other shore of the South Atlantic Ocean.

Brazil will continue to contribute to the best of its ability to the United Nations efforts towards Angola, and to provide its fullest support to the Angolan Government and people in their struggle for a better future.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): I am pleased to see you presiding over our deliberations this month, Sir, I am sure your personal and professional qualities will be of immense value - and have been of immense value already - in helping the Council cope with the important issues on its agenda.

I should like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Snoussi of Morocco, for the good work done during his presidency last month.

The deterioration of the situation in Angola is a cause of great concern to my Government. The resumption of hostilities since the elections last September has caused great damage to the country and killed thousands. We

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

believe that the use of violence and military means to solve the Angolan conflict is not a viable alternative. Only a peaceful solution of this conflict can bring stability and lasting peace to Angola.

It is therefore important that serious efforts be made to restore the dialogue between the Government and UNITA with a view to facilitating the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz". We appreciate the many attempts by the United Nations to facilitate the dialogue between the two parties. We encourage the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to continue their efforts to bring the two parties together so that they can resume their dialogue.

In this context we are glad to note the emphasis put by the draft resolution before the Council on the need urgently to restore the dialogue between the Government and UNITA. We sincerely hope that with the assistance of the Secretary-General the present hostilities will soon come to a halt, to allow for negotiations conducive to the full implementation of the peace accords and to the reformulation and extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II).

We pay our most sincere tribute to Miss Anstee, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, as well as to all UNAVEM staff members, for their commitment and dedication to the cause of peace in Angola. We particularly admire the courage with which they have been carrying our their mission under difficult and dangerous circumstances. We reiterate our full confidence and support for the highly commendable work they have been doing on behalf of the United Nations. We call on all those involved to take all necessary steps to ensure the safety of all UNAVEM personnel and to discontinue the objectionable practice of harassment and kidnapping of UNAVEM personnel.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

The Angolan people have suffered for too many years, and now need peace to rebuild their shattered lives and their country. That is why we are concerned about reports and allegations of foreign intervention in the conflict. We call on all States to abstain from any action that might fuel the conflict and further aggravate the situation.

We are also concerned about the humanitarian situation in Angola, which seems to have reached a critical point; according to reports received from the field, the humanitarian situation is about to reach tragic dimensions. We call on all Member States and United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to accord, or increase, humanitarian assistance to the Government of Angola to cope with the humanitarian needs of the population of Angola.

We sincerely expect a breakthrough - an early breakthrough - in the efforts aimed at the resumption of dialogue between the Government and UNITA. The assistance of the United Nations seems to be vital in this regard. But the political will of the two parties is a sine qua non condition for any success in this respect.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cape Verde for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/25399.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 811 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): There is great concern in Moscow over the most recent turn of events in Angola. The country has been virtually plunged into civil war again.

In accordance with the Lisbon Agreements and resolutions of the Security Council, Russia, as an observer of the settlement process, together with the United States and Portugal, has made and is continuing to make efforts to halt the bloodshed in the country.

However, UNITA is continuing to violate the provisions of the "Acordos de Paz para Angola", refusing to recognize the results of the elections held in September 1992, refusing to join the political institutions established on the basis of those elections and refusing to engage in constructive negotiations with the Government of Angola. UNITA, dissociating itself from the new armed forces of the country, has by force seized administrative centres and towns in the provinces.

The military actions of UNITA attest to the stubborn unwillingness of the political opposition, headed by Mr. Savimbi, to accept its defeat in the elections, which were recognized by the United Nations as free and fair. It is obvious that UNITA is attempting to nullify the democratically made decision by military action and trying to assert its power in the country by force of arms. This opens sombre prospects of mass violence and terror in Angola and threatens the territorial integrity of that country.

In this situation Russia believes it necessary that the United Nations Security Council should take steps aimed at returning events in that country to a peaceful course. The Security Council must bring all of its authority to bear in order to ensure the implementation of its previous decisions, in particular as concerns the adoption of measures in respect of the side that has been recognized as responsible for the breakdown of a political settlement

(Mr. Yorgotsov, Russian Federation)

in Angola. We cannot allow the role of the United Nations and of its representatives in Angola to be called into question or subjected to attacks.

We firmly reject those attacks and wish to emphasize that the selfless efforts of Miss Margaret Anstee, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and all the personnel of the United Nations Mission in Angola deserve the highest esteem and gratitude of the international community.

We believe that the legitimate Government of Angola and UNITA can and must return to constructive dialogue. If this does not happen, the international community will have to give comprehensive support to the Government of Angola, including, if needed, the provision of all necessary assistance.

In our approach to the events in Angola, the time has come when the international community must immediately demonstrate responsibility and firmness in dealing with those forces which are ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council, and to that end, use must be made of every means available to individual States for exerting influence on UNITA. It is necessary to ensure the total international isolation of the violator of the agreements. The time for delay and futile manoeuvring has passed. Angolans can be saved from further suffering only through united action based on democratic principles. A breakdown of the peace process in Angola will pose the danger of an exacerbation of destabilizing processes in other parts of the region as well.

Accordingly, the Russian Federation has supported the Security Council's resolution and expresses the hope that implementation of its provisions will make it possible to bring events in Angola back to the course of concluding a peaceful settlement and promoting the development and reconstruction of the country.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): Since the Security Council adopted resolution 804 (1993) last 29 January, the situation in Angola has seriously deteriorated, characterised by an intensification of fighting and a worsening of the humanitarian situation. Moreover, efforts to resume the political dialogue between the Angolan Government and UNITA have been unsuccessful to date. The French Government has followed these developments with great concern.

In the face of the extremely worrisome situation now prevailing in Angola, we consider that the international community and, in particular, the United Nations, which has contributed greatly to the peace efforts, cannot give up. Accordingly, my delegation reiterates its full support for the action of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Miss Maragaret Anstee, who is continuing to carry out her mission in extremely difficult conditions, sparing no effort to find the means to bring about a halt to hostilities, a resumption of dialogue and the continued implementation of the Bicesse Accords.

Such goals cannot be met without the cooperation of the parties. In this connection, we keenly regret that the second meeting planned to take place in Addis Ababa between the Angolan Government, on the one hand, and UNITA, on the other, could not take place because of the absence of a delegation from the latter. We join in the Council's appeals that dialogue be resumed and that all the commitments made under the Bicesse Accords, which remain the basis for the settlement in Angola, be honoured. It is equally important that the inadmissible verbal and physical attacks against the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) cease immediately.

The French Government noted with great interest the information and ideas that Miss Anstee shared yesterday with members of the Security Council. It

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

noted in particular the Secretary-General's proposal for organizing, under his auspices, a meeting of the two parties at the highest level. This proposal should help us to break the deadlock, and we support it. In the same spirit, we await with great interest the recommendations the Secretary-General will submit to us regarding the future role of the United Nations in the peace process in Angola.

For all these reasons, my delegation supported the draft resolution before us. We are pleased that the Council has adopted it unanimously, thereby demonstrating its determination to continue to support a settlement of the conflict besetting Angola, despite difficulties and disappointments.

Mr. WALKER (United States of America): The United States continues to watch with grave concern the deteriorating situation in Angola. Over the past months, when Angola rightfully should have been taking the first steps down a fully democratic path, its citizens have been faced instead with a bitter war and a resulting humanitarian tragedy of growing proportions.

All sides have acknowledged that the conflict cannot and will not be resolved on the battlefield. Nevertheless, the war continues with ever greater intensity. Since the end of January, the last time face-to-face talks were held, thousands, maybe tens of thousands, have died. Thousands more have been injured or displaced, and those facing urgent food and medical needs may number in the millions.

We continue to believe that dialogue between the two parties is the only way out for Angola. To offer any real hope for peace, such dialogue must be undertaken urgently, without preconditions, by authoritative delegations committed to the Bicesse Accords and to national reconciliation. The United States, in cooperation with our troika partners, Portugal and Russia,

(Mr. Walker, United States)

continues to support United Nations efforts to bring the two sides together to that end.

In that regard, the failure of UNITA to participate in last month's scheduled round of talks in Addis Ababa was deeply disappointing. But as this resolution demonstrates, the international community does not have infinite patience.

(Mr. Walker, United States)

The party which continues to violate the Peace Accords, refuses to engage in serious dialogue and appears to rely on a military solution will find itself held responsible for a conflict which takes Angola farther away from realizing its democratic aspirations.

From the beginning of the peace process, the role of the international community has been crucial in Angola. Now, in addition to pursuing all avenues for negotiations, the international community must do everything possible to keep from fuelling the fires of an already-raging civil conflict. We reiterate our strong support for the Secretary-General and particularly for his Special Representative, Margaret Anstee, in her tireless pursuit of peace in Angola. We urge the parties, and particularly UNITA, to demonstrate an equally firm and urgent commitment to that goal.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Nearly two years have passed since the signing of the Peace Accords by the Government of Angola and UNITA and the establishment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) by the United Nations in May 1991. Over the past two years, thanks to the joint efforts of the United Nations, the international community and the parties concerned in Angola, important progess has been made in the Angola peace process. In September last year a general election was held in Angola under the supervision of the United Nations. And it seemed that peace was dawning in Angola.

Unfortunately, after the general election last year, UNITA refused to recognize the results of the election and carried out military manoeuvres. The situation in Angola thus deteriorated again. Large-scale armed conflicts reoccurred, bringing serious reversals in the peace process there. It is especially worrying to see the recent fierce military conflicts in Huambo,

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

which have led to an unprecedentedly high number of casualties and a sharp increase in displaced persons. At the moment, Angola is faced with a grave danger of an all-round civil war. At the same time, the personnel of UNAVEM II are under frequent attacks and threats and its work is seriously hampered. The Chinese delegation wishes to express its deep concern over these developments.

In order to promote the political settlement of the Angola dispute, with the support of the international community, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Ms. Anstee, have made arduous endeavours under extremely difficult conditions. The Chinese delegation would like to express its appreciation for their efforts. At this crucial juncture of the Angola peace process, we support the Secretary-General and the United Nations in bringing the peace process in Angola back to the normal track. At present, the most important thing is to effect an immediate cease-fire and resume peace negotiations with a view to achieving comprehensive implementation of the Peace Accords. We urge the two Angola parties to resume negotiations promptly and unconditionally under the auspices of the United Nations. We are in favour of the Secretary-General's arranging a meeting between the leaders of the Angola Government and UNITA at an appropriate time.

China sincerely wishes to see the early realization of peace in Angola, recognizing that lasting peace in Angola can be finally achieved only by the Angola people themselves. It is shortsighted for any side to seek temporary victory on the battlefield. A political solution through negotiations is the only alternative in the Angola question. We hope that the conflicting parties in Angola will put the fundamental interests of the Angola people first,

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

earnestly implement the Peace Accords and realize national reconciliation so that their country will embark on the road of peace and reconstruction at an early date.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on the positive and very dynamic work you are doing as President of the Security Council for March. Also, I cannot fail to recall the excellent leadership that Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi of Morocco gave the Council last month, thanks to his great competence.

Just a few weeks ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 804 (1993). It already reflected the international community's grave concern at the dangerous deterioration of the political and military situation in Angola. It highlighted the crisis confronting the United Nations operation in that country. At the same time, it offered proof of the Council's continued determination not to resign itself to that situation and to do everything possible to halt and reverse the tragic direction that events in Angola had taken.

Despite the glimmer of hope evoked by the resumption of contacts between the two Angolan parties, it must be noted that the country has been replunged into a traumatic situation, the most serious situation since the launching of the civil war more than a decade and a half ago. Furthermore, there is developing in that country a humanitarian disaster the dimensions of which increasingly remind us of the Bosnian and Somali tragedies and which must be dealt with without delay.

Nor can we lose sight of the devastating impact such a turn of events in Angola can have on regional and world developmenmts. We cannot disregard the negative influence such developments can have on the credibility of the United

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Nations and of the democratic process in general. Thus, the time has come to refuse to be indifferent to these tragedies and to move to resolute action in Angola. To that end, we must first and foremost analyse the situation and point out the true causes of the deterioration, which will then enable us to find a solution commensurate with the requirements of the situation.

In reading the resolution we have just adopted, we see clearly that the Council has acted in an appropriate way by squarely establishing UNITA's responsibility for the situation and by, at the same time, encouraging the two parties to meet very soon at all the appropriate levels. It seems clear to us that if the situation continues to deteriorate, the Council will have to take the measures that will be deemed necessary. We feel that that is one of the most important messages of the resolution the Council has just adopted today.

We cannot pass over in silence the accusations - which we reject - against the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the UNAVEM personnel, to whom we pay a tribute for the activities they are undertaking in extremely difficult conditions in order to relaunch the peace process and carry out their mandate under the Angola Peace Accords.

We are eagerly awaiting the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Angola and his recommendations concerning the larger and more substantial role the United Nations could play in this process. It must be clear, however, that it is for the Angolans themselves to decide the fate of their country. To that end, it is incumbent upon them to establish urgently the conditions necessary for the resumption of dialogue and contacts among them.

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

Security Council resolution 811 (1993) is evidence of the international Organization's commitment to assisting the Angolans, on the basis of the provisions of the Peace Accords for Angola and the result of the elections held in September last, to restore peace and ensure the democratic development of their country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Hungary for the kind words he addressed to me. There are no further names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.